3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as moyen, [a] warrior, and moyen-*et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *wpitiho**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Masai words are marked thus: † (*ingerosit*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timboret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kápchepkendi and Kámasiro (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Masai they are called Ol-Torróbôni, pl. Il-Torróbo (fem. En-Dorróbôni, pl. In-Dorróbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Masai name Torróbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *dorope*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 31, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mugugodo," who live near the E-Unaso Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mugugodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Kikuyu (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mugugodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Kuafuáhi Kinikh* (1854) that "the Wandorobbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [111] [115] 105

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

105 Wakuafi [Mimo] do, who therefore learn of their own superior lessons. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorobo in contact with the southern Mimo. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorobo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorobo. [1]

114 101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorobo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorobo.

[199]

1. Kimotio-Kipchorkwondi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsigis.
2. Le-Tchani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsigis.	
5. Chepkurwonik, Kamisk, and Kiptarwonk, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mimo.
6. Sabiny.	
7. Kiboby.	
8. Digirl.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Nairobi and Lukenia, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uasin Kgishu).	

Tanganyika Dorobo.

10. Tatoora,[2] lat. 4° S.
11. Mosiro,[3]
12. Aramanik,[4]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorobo can be distinguished. (Huntingford, Tent-dig. E.)

194 The origin of the Dorobo is uncertain. Those of the Kimotio-Kipchorkwondi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical characters, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mimo and Nandi traditions point to the Dorobo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 144; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 130.
[2] H. A. C. Maguire, "A Dorobo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 121, 122.
[3] [See Sample Number 2, this file — Ed. HSP]

Identification

The Dorobo (Andorobo, Asa, 1-Torobo, Okiek, Wandorobbo) live in scattered band, those of he Central group almost exclusively at elevations in excess of 7,000 eet interspersed among the Nandi and Masai. Smaller dispersed goups are found to the north adjacent to the Dodoth and Jiye, in the suth adjacent to the Shashi, Kindiga, and Zigula, and in the east adjoent to the Kikuyu and Samburu. The Northern Dorobo number abut 140 (in 1930); one of the twelve groups of Central Dorobo number 221 (in 1942); the Southern Dorobo number about 1,000 (in 925). The Central and Southern groups, at least, speak language of the Nandi-Suk branch of the Great Lakes or "Nilo-Hamitic" ubdivisioh of the Southern division of the East Sudanic nuck, apparuly more closely akin to Nandi than to Suk. In physique the Dorobo are basically Negroid, but Sudanese somatic characteristics are reported to occur occasionally. Though often regarded as remnats of the first wave of Nilo-Hamitic pastoral nomads who were deprived of their cattle and driven to hunting by the later Kwafi and Masai, they are much more likely an aboriginal hunting population "Himiticized" through contact with the Nandi and Masai. Accordlng to Leinhardt, their culture is richer and more complex than that of te Kindiga but the differences consist exclusively of borrowings fom the Nandi and Masai. They do, however, include some impoverished Kwafi and Masai. They are commonly attached to the Masaia a sort of serf class.

Basic Economy

The Dorobo are nomadic hunts and gatherers. Until recently they practiced no agriculture ordad no domestic animals except dogs. Today some groups have few cattle, sheep, goats, and chickens, and the Central Dorobogrow a little eleusine and maize and the Northern Dorobo some maize, maize, and millet. Beekeeping as well as honey gathering are aboriginal and important. Hunting is done with poisoned arws. There is considerable trade with the Nandi. Honey may not e eaten on the same day as fruit or blood [does not apply to meat]

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt and gather honey. Women gather vegetal foods. Today men clear land, [illegible]ows led, and women milk and do all the agriculture.

Property

Formerly there were band hunting territories and very little movable property.

Inheritance is patrilineal--by children, then by brothers and cousins (FaBrSo and MoBrSo). Land rights pass to Elle, weapons to a Br, dogs to sons.

Social Stratification

Slavery is absent, and social stratification is presumably minimal.

Marriage

Today a substantial bride-price is usual, consisting of approximately two cattle and four goats. Formerly the groom supplied quantities of mead or honey wine, but it is not clear whether this was considered a token payment.

Monogamy is practically universal, though polygyny is not forbidden. Secondary unions with BrWi are common.

Family

There are both independent nuclear families and small patrilocal extended families consisting of no more than two or three nuclear families.

Residence

Patrilocal residence prevails, though neolocal residence (in the same vicinity) also occurs occasionally.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy appears to be the rule. Children remain with their parents until puberty, moving into nearby bachelors' or spinsters' huts after circumcision or clitoridectomy.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with all primary, secondary, and tertiary relatives, including first cousins. Kindreds are not present.

There are 8 exogamous, unnamed patrilocal. Totemism is probably due to Nandi influence.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--papa. Mo--eiyo. Ch--apaa(m.s.), laikuni (w.s.). Br,

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Si--Sasanda. Wi--muweriat.

Avuncular and male-speaking nepotic terms are of bifurcate merging type.

Omaha terminology prevails for MoBrCh, but FaSiCh is equated with FaBrCh by a special term.

Settlement Pattern

Small migratory bands (today small farm settlement). The dwellings are small dome-shaped huts of bent-over branches covered with leaves and an ox-hide (Central Dorobo), with grass (Northern Dorobo).

Avuncular and male-speaking nepotic terms are of bifurcate merging type.

Community Organization

The local or settlement is a patrilocal clan-community. The Northern Dorobo lack age-grades, but the Central Dorobo have seven age-grades of Kenuli type (but without military functions). A new Central Dorobo age-grade is formed about every 15 years, but is divided into three sections whose members are circumcised at the same time. Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practiced.

Local Government

Each local clan has a council of elders, who are presumably family heads, though local headmen are reported for the Northern Dorobo.

State

Political organization does not exceed the local level except among the Northern Dorobo, whose 160 members have a chief over the local headmen, with patrilineal succession. Districts of several clan-communities, each with a council and leader, are due to Kenuli influence.

Warfare

The tribe is unwarlike.

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S.Leather--40 G-6 (ca. 1956-1957) 1958 FILE Kikuyu FILE
Barclay FILE

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Colonel John Ainsworth, then Chief Native Commissioner, wrote in 1918 a memorandum, "Kikuyu Explanation of the Origin of the Gikuyu and the Gikuyu System," in which he said,

"In the course of time, the Kikuyu got into touch with these people (the Dorobo), and, where possible, made friends with them .... These Dorobo lived on game, roots, and honey, and in order to collect the honey they hung honey barrels over wide areas of the forest. They had no cultivation. The destruction of their occupation was generally followed by the presence of these honey barrels and by game pits. The Dorobo were few in numbers and their villages were scattered in the forest. Gradually the Kikuyu encroached for purposes of cultivation, and began to burn and cut down the trees. The Dorobo ... resented the invasion by the Kikuyu, and demanded compensation for disturbance of their rights. Individual families paid the compensation demanded. On the Dorobo accepting such compensation they made blood-brotherhood and afterwards lived side by side, the Dorobo allowing the Kikuyu to cultivate and the Kikuyu recognizing the right of the Dorobo to carry on his way of living. In the course of time, members of Dorobo settled down as members of the Kikuyu community and took up cultivation.

"Many thousands of goats and cattle were paid by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo, not all at once, but from time to time. The Kikuyu correspondingly occupied the forest area 'bit by bit'. The Dorobo, having lost their forests, owed to the Masai, to whom they paid goats and cattle for permission to reside among the Masai. They also took large presents of ivory to the Masai Laibon, Mbatian, in payment of their hunting. Others joined the Kikuyu, and became members of the community when they gave up hunting and became cultivators.

"In order to avoid quarrels and fighting among themselves, the Kikuyu agreed that the particular member of the community who parted with his goats or cattle as compensation should be recognized as the person who had acquired the rights of any particular Dorobo, and so, they argue, came into existence the gikuiku rights now claimed. Where Dorobo elected to remain as members

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Ambeebbe. This tribe—the Wa-ambeebbe of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masailand, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Ambeebbe are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Mount Nyiri, Chilishumguani, Buru, Donyiro, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the great tuskers; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the nomad people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Miminiki, a very large village of Ambeebbe have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the Andorobo.

The language spoken by the Ambeebbe is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

In hunting the elephant the Ambeebbe use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the sueyia. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

[illegible]

[illegible] dependency on them. A course running across the [illegible] valley does not remain hidden from the Hindukho roaming about everywhere. [illegible] Their banquet was meant to be [illegible] to the spirits hungry beast. Through [illegible] poverty and the [illegible] this universe to make up for the lack of daughter animals through the killing of goats, the Hindukho, to be sure, [illegible] to the detriment of the latter, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow villagers to the extent that they do not grant individual Hindukho, as well as [illegible] and [illegible], admission into their community.

In some cases these also, after the [illegible] have become detached from the larger community and live in small bands in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the [illegible]. Others, however, meeting themselves within one of the three [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] gamsik. Often they live together with a few [illegible], sometimes one also finds one or several Hindukho families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot cultivate on foam, they also cultivate maize, banana, etc. here and there and [illegible] themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

The influence that the latter people exerted not only over [illegible] but also [illegible] is very great. [illegible] Hindukho, [illegible] the Hindukho, [illegible] the [illegible] and latter to whose influence the surrounding peoples owe much. What qualified the latter for this lordly position [illegible] their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their [illegible] organizations and their [illegible]. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the latter [illegible] higher are than that of individual [illegible] surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of them, in contrast to the [illegible]